



FERMOR (WILLIAM)

Reflections on the CO. POX.

Oxford
1800.

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE

COW-POX,

ILLUSTRATED

BY CASES TO PROVE IT AN ABSOLUTE SECURITY

AGAINST THE

SMALL POX;

ADDRESSED TO THE PUBLIC,

IN A

LETTER TO DR. JENNER,

FROM

WILLIAM FERMOR, ESQ.

Segnius irritant Animos demissa per Aurem,
Quam quæ sunt oculis Subjecta fidelibus.

HORACE.

OXFORD:

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1800.



DEAR SIR,

I Know no one to whom I can address a letter on the subject of the Cow-pox so properly as to yourself; to whose labours the public is so much indebted for the great and important discovery of its use and application. Ever since I was so fortunate as to be introduced to you at Cheltenham, some time ago, I have frequently revolved in my mind your very interesting conversation on the subject; and, I can truly say, from that period I have never lost sight of it.

The disease has been long known to dairy farmers in different parts of the kingdom, and particularly to many in my neighbourhood; but who could ever have imagined that this very serious complaint, as it is well known

to be by those who have been affected with it in its original state, could ever have been employed to soften down, and one may say annihilate one of the most loathsome and alarming disorders, which afflict the human race; I mean the Small-pox?

Great merit, I think, is due to those who first suggested a remedy against the virulence of the latter, and introduced inoculation for it; and we are particularly indebted to the respectable family of the Suttons, who quitting the ordinary path of practitioners, ventured to recommend and pursue the cool regimen. Many eminent Professors of Medicine in this country, had for many years past been convinced of its propriety, but had not resolution to quit the trammels of the schools, and relinquish habits, which education and prejudice unfortunately had rendered sacred. Amongst the rest, occurs the name of our illustrious Sydenham, who was so convinced of the propriety of the cool regimen, and who felt so sensibly the opposition he met with from the practitioners of his own time, that he thus pathetically exclaims, “ However it is
“ I have used this method for my own chil-

“ dren, my dearest and nearest relations, and
 “ all others that have committed themselves
 “ to my care; and if I am to be blamed for
 “ any thing, it is because I have sometimes
 “ yielded to those of a contrary opinion, lest
 “ I should be counted morose; and for the
 “ confirmation of this, I appeal to my inti-
 “ mate acquaintance. And this is another
 “ unhappiness, that sometimes also, when
 “ the standers by have condemned all I have
 “ proposed through the whole course of the
 “ disease, yet they have charged me with the
 “ death of the patient, though he was de-
 “ stroyed by that heat which the friends and
 “ nurses promoted, and which I so much
 “ inveighed against; upon which account, by
 “ reason of the insuperable prejudice of most
 “ people, I have thought it well for me, if I
 “ were never called again to any that have
 “ the Small-pox.”

It is well known to all medical professors,
 that notwithstanding the above decided opi-
 nion of this great man, the same absurd
 practice was uninterruptedly pursued, even to
 our own times. How many, indeed, are there
 now living who not only remember, but have

perhaps experienced, from the obstinacy of nurses, and the ill-judged fondness of parents, the same warm treatment in that disease, which not only added to its constitutional violence, but considerably increased its contagious effects.

We are fortunate, however, in these latter times, to be able to verify the prophetic exclamation, of the above great physician,—
 “ This is, indeed, the true method of curing
 “ this sort of Small-pox, and which will
 “ prevail when I am dead, notwithstanding the
 “ great prejudices men have taken against it
 “ by reason of an erroneous opinion.” Though the original virulence of this dreadful malady and its fatal effects have of late years been considerably diminished by the modern practice of inoculation, it does not appear that its contagious influence has been much abated; on the contrary, its universality has certainly been much extended. It has compelled every individual to submit to inoculation, notwithstanding constitutional habits and family complaints, may have rendered its good effects precarious. Nay, how few parents are there who have not had many anxious moments

on account of the result, notwithstanding they have employed the most eminent in the profession and the coolest mode of treatment.

How necessary it is likewise to chuse a sequestered spot for its communication, detached from places inhabited by the commonalty, who from prejudice, or disinclination, refuse to avail themselves of the salubrious effects of this important discovery! What an expence has the government of the country incurred by inoculating the army alone, and how have the military contributed to spread the disease, by communicating it to the inhabitants of the places they passed through, as well as to those amongst whom they afterwards resided.

What an absence from duty was necessary for the soldier, during its progress, and what a diminution of bodily strength, even under its most favourable appearances! What considerable danger frequently arose from the intemperance and misconduct of the patient; and how many lives were often lost by their fatal consequences!

Let us now review the nature of the Cow-

pox, and its effects. The disorder requires no previous or subsequent regimen. No infection attends it; the complaint is in general merely local; and no absence from ordinary employments, nor is any medicine necessary. In a national and civil light, what an important discovery! Let us next consider, is it a preservative against the Small-pox contagion? We are happy to know that men of the first eminence at this time, not only in our own island, but in many other parts of the world, have decidedly proved it to be so. Dr. Woodville, an eminent practitioner, and who is now physician to the Small-pox and Inoculating Hospital at Pancras, concludes an ingenious pamphlet on the effects of the Cow and Small-pox, in the following remarkable words: —

“ It has been asserted, that persons have had
 “ the Small-pox after having been affected
 “ with the Cow-pox; and some facts have
 “ been published with a view to shew that
 “ instances of this kind have actually hap-
 “ pened. But all these, as far as I have seen,
 “ have been very defective in not affording
 “ sufficient proof that the affection supposed to
 “ have been the Cow-pox, was in reality that
 “ disease. On the other hand, the instances

“ which have been brought forward to prove
 “ that those who had undergone the genuine
 “ Cow-pox, resisted the infection of the Small-
 “ pox, are unquestionably decisive, and suf-
 “ ficiently numerous to establish the fact in
 “ the most satisfactory manner. This cir-
 “ cumstance then appears to be as much a
 “ general law of the system, as that a person
 “ having had the Small-pox is thereby ren-
 “ dered unsusceptible of receiving the disease
 “ a second time. For of all the patients
 “ whom I inoculated with variolous matter,
 “ after they had passed through the Cow-pox,
 “ amounting to upwards of 400, none were
 “ affected with the Small-pox; and it may
 “ be remarked, that nearly a fourth part of
 “ this number was so slightly affected with
 “ the Cow-pox, that it neither produced any
 “ perceptible indisposition or pustules.”

. To this very respectable authority I will add
 the opinions on this subject of Dr. Pearson,
 an eminent London Physician. He says, in
 his statement of the progress in the vaccine
 inoculation — “ Concerning the important
 “ point of the certainty of the action of the
 “ Cow-pox on the human constitution to pro-

“ duce unfusceptibility of taking subfequently
 “ the Small-pox, I can only fay at prefent,
 “ that I have inoculated many fcores with
 “ Small-pox matter after the vaccine difeafe,
 “ and never with the effect of exciting the
 “ Small-pox; though I have had accounts
 “ fent to me, not of people taking the Small-
 “ pox after the inoculated Cow-pox, but of
 “ thefe taking the Small-pox after the Cow-
 “ pox in the cafual way. I have, indeed been
 “ defired to fee even fome of my own patients,
 “ who I was acquainted had taken the Small-
 “ pox after the Cow-pox; but thefe cafes
 “ turned out to be either thofe in which the
 “ Cow-pox had not in reality preceded, or
 “ they were cafes of merely local affection
 “ from the inoculated Small-pox. With re-
 “ fpect to the facts of other practitioners, I
 “ fhall, at a future time, make fome remarks
 “ on them to render their accounts confiftent
 “ with thofe of Dr. Jenner, Dr. Woodville,
 “ and myfelf. In the mean time, I will not
 “ allow that any perfon’s evidence is on this
 “ point much to be depended upon, unlefs
 “ he really knows what are the characters of
 “ the Cow-pox puftule, and what are thofe
 “ of the variolous, and fome other common

“ eruptions. From the preceding general
 “ results, without entering into a more par-
 “ ticular account, I think we may safely con-
 “ clude that the Cow-pox inoculation is at-
 “ tended with advantages sufficient to force
 “ its way speedily into general practice, and
 “ that, in course it will supercede, and ulti-
 “ mately extinguish, the Small-pox; but this
 “ conclusion is only made, provided no new
 “ facts shall arise, adverse to the experience
 “ now possessed.”

With respect to foreign correspondents, he
 adds—“ The sensation excited on the Conti-
 “ nent by the vaccine inoculation has been
 “ much more considerable than even in our
 “ own island; as I learned first from Dr.
 “ Marcet, and since, by a letter from Peschier.
 “ At Vienna, Dr. Ferro inoculated two of his
 “ own children with vaccine matter, which
 “ I transmitted; and next, Dr. de Carro in-
 “ oculated two of his own children. An ac-
 “ curate journal of these two last cases was
 “ kept by Dr. de Carro, which he has had
 “ the complaisance to communicate to me
 “ through the hands of Dr. Peschier. The
 “ above patients had the vaccine disease in

“ the usual mild way that they have had it
 “ in England, and were inoculated subse-
 “ quently for the Small-pox, but without
 “ taking that disease.”

Your own very valuable dissertations upon this complaint, and of its preventive powers against the contagion of the Small-pox, ought to be sufficient, I apprehend, to convince every one that the Cow-pox and Small-pox are synonymous terms. But so suspicious are men in general of the prejudices, which may arise in the most candid and enlightened mind in favour of any important discoveries made by the publisher of them, that we are afraid in general to take almost any thing upon trust, but what comes through the medium of others, who may appear to us to be less prejudiced, or less interested therein; and where the well-being and often the life of man are seriously concerned, no precaution in reality can be too great.

For this reason, when I first seriously entered upon this enquiry, I was determined to form my opinion ultimately on experiment alone. How much I have reason now to be convinced

of the truth of what I had read and heard, the candid reader by a perusal of the annexed cases and statements must determine.

With respect to the origin of this disorder let the learned dispute. I think it of little or no consequence to the public. The causes of bodily complaints in general, are very little known; particularly of cutaneous ones. Who has ever yet discovered from what source either the Chicken or Swine-pox arises?—Sydenham says with regard to the Small-pox, “ I ingenuously acknowledge that by reason
“ of a defect in the understanding which is
“ common to me and the rest of mankind, I
“ know not the essence of this disease.” And I think the inhabitants of the Banks of the Nile would be much to blame, were they not to avail themselves of the fertilizing qualities of its waters, because perhaps they are ignorant of the sources from whence they flow. Your own opinion appears to be, “ that it originates
“ in the ichorous discharge from some local
“ disease of a horse; generally from greasy heels,” which from my own enquiries, I have good reason to believe. Many, I know, dissent from this opinion; but no one I think has yet

produced any arguments to disprove it. Some laugh at the idea, and think that the translation of a humour from the heels of a horse to the teats of a cow, must naturally produce a ludicrous complaint, which can have no analogy with the Small-pox; and that the catalogue of disorders, which afflict the human race is sufficient, without having recourse to the brute creation for more.

But let us no longer dispute about causes, let us look principally to effects. Our great philosopher Dr. Franklin, in a treatise on electricity, says, on a similar occasion, “ Nor
 “ is it of much importance to us to know the
 “ manner in which Nature executes her laws.
 “ It is enough if we know the laws themselves.” Would it not be absurd in us to forego the wonderful and salutary relief produced by electricity in many disorders our bodily frame is subject to, because we cannot in a satisfactory manner explain what the electrical fluid is, or from whence it arises? A variety of medicines are sold by empirics in this country, whose effects are wonderfully advantageous in many of our complaints. An eminent physician in my neighbourhood,

who is now no more, used wisely to say upon that subject, What signifies their composition, if their effects answer our expectations? A philosopher in his chamber may be much amused by theoretic discussions upon causes, from the pen of an ingenious writer, but we ought to be always upon our guard against any such discussions in matters of consequence, which are not subsequently verified by experiment. This idea, I think, is strongly confirmed by the opinion of Dr. Franklin, who in one of his papers on philosophical subjects, when writing to a friend, says, with his usual candour, “ I own I have too strong a penchant
 “ to the building of hypothesis ; they indulge
 “ my natural indolence. I wish I had more
 “ of your patience and accuracy in making
 “ observations, on which alone true philosophy
 “ can be founded.”

How long has the world been amused with the relations of the wonderful effects of animal magnetism, and what sums of money have been expended by individuals to be initiated into its mysteries ! The unfortunate Louis the XVIth having heard very extraordinary reports of the success of the great professor of

it, Mr. Mesmer, then residing at Paris, desired Dr. Franklin, at that time Minister from the United States to his court, with two of his own physicians, to examine the merits of it. They attended Mr. Mesmer through all his operations, and returned the following expressive though laconic answer to his Majesty : —
 “ That where there was no cause, there
 “ could be no effect.”

Though I was much pleased with your own decided opinion and that of many able practitioners of the present time, that the genuine Cow-pox is a certain preservative against the contagion of the Small-pox; yet, as I said above, I was determined to ascertain the fact; and you will perceive that the Small-pox matter has been ineffectually communicated to more than one half of our patients, who had been previously inoculated with the genuine Cow-pox, and recovered from that complaint.

I say the genuine, for without that necessary precaution, practitioners may be led into the greatest errors, from whence the most alarming consequences may ensue. One may as well pronounce, that individuals who have

had the Swine or the Chicken-pox, are secure from the variolous infection, as to suppose that a person who has undergone the spurious Cow-pox, is not afterwards subject to the Small-pox contagion.

You have accurately described in two of your publications, in what the genuine and spurious disorder consists; which I shall here insert for the information of my readers.—
 “ The true disease appears on the nipples of
 “ the cows in form of irregular pustules. At
 “ their first appearance they are commonly
 “ of a palish blue, or rather of a colour
 “ somewhat approaching to livid, and are
 “ surrounded by an erysipelatous inflammation. These pustules, unless a timely remedy be applied, frequently degenerate into
 “ phagedenic ulcers, which prove extremely
 “ troublesome. The animals become indisposed, and the secretion of milk is much
 “ lessened. Inflamed spots now begin to
 “ appear on different parts of the hands of
 “ the domestics employed in milking, and
 “ sometimes on the wrists, which quickly
 “ run on to suppuration, first assuming the
 “ appearance of the small vesications produced

“ by a burn. Most commonly they appear
 “ about the joints of the fingers and at their
 “ extremities; but whatever parts are af-
 “ fected, if the situation will admit, these
 “ superficial suppurations put on a circular
 “ form, with their edges more elevated than
 “ their centre, and of a colour distantly ap-
 “ proaching to blue. Absorption takes place,
 “ and tumours appear in each axilla. The
 “ system becomes affected. The pulse is
 “ quickened; and shiverings, with general
 “ lassitude and pains about the loins and
 “ limbs, with vomiting, come on. The head
 “ is painful, and the patient is now and then
 “ even affected with delirium. These symp-
 “ toms, varying in their degrees of violence,
 “ generally continue from one day to three
 “ or four, leaving ulcerated sores about the
 “ hands, which, from the sensibility of the
 “ parts, are very troublesome, and commonly
 “ heal slowly, frequently becoming phage-
 “ denic, like those from whence they sprung.
 “ Lips, nostrils, eye-lids, and other parts of
 “ the body, are sometimes affected with sores,
 “ but these evidently arise from their being
 “ needlessly rubbed or scratched with the
 “ patient’s infected fingers. No eruptions

“ on the skin have followed the decline of
“ the feverish symptoms in any instance that
“ has come under my inspection, one only
“ excepted, and in this case a very few ap-
“ peared on the arms; they were very minute,
“ of a vivid red colour, and soon died away
“ without advancing to maturation; so that I
“ cannot determine whether they had any
“ connection with the preceding symptoms.”

With regard to the spurious sort, you say,

1st. “ That arising from pustules on the
“ nipples or udder of the cow, which pus-
“ tules contain no specific virus.

2dly. “ From matter, (although originally
“ possessing the specific virus) which has suf-
“ fered a decomposition, either from putre-
“ faction or from any other cause less obvious
“ to the senses.

3dly. “ From matter taken from an ulcer
“ in an advanced stage, which ulcer arose
“ from a true Cow-pock.

4thly. “ From matter produced on the
“ human skin from contact with some pecu-
“ liar morbid matter generated by a horse.”

You add in another place, “ The most
 “ perfect criterion by which the judgment
 “ may be guided, is perhaps that adopted by
 “ those who attend infected cattle. These
 “ white blisters on the nipples, they say,
 “ never eat into the fleshy parts like those
 “ which are commonly of a bluish cast, and
 “ which constitute the true Cow-pox, but
 “ that they affect the skin only, quickly end
 “ in scabs, and are not nearly so infectious.”

Many have asserted, that the Cow-pox is no safeguard against the contagion of the Small-pox; and many respectable names appear in publications to sanction this opinion. That the spurious Cow-pox affords no security against it, I readily grant. Nor will the Swine or Chicken-pox previously received, prevent the Small-pox contagion. That the genuine Cow-pox is a certain preservative against the Small-pox, I flatter myself, the following cases will sufficiently prove. They are selected from many I could bring of persons, who having previously had the Cow-pox, have never been able to receive the infection of the virus from the Small-pox, though inserted a considerable time after, and

at different periods. These cases are well known to practitioners and inoculators in this neighbourhood, and I have received most of them from the parties themselves.

FIRST CASE.

Jeoffry Tredwell, a reputable farmer, and a tenant of mine, about fourteen years ago had the Cow-pox in the farm he then occupied, at Chesterton, in this neighbourhood. His brother, William Tredwell, being employed constantly in milking the cows, was infected with the Cow-pox, and had the disease severely in his hands and fingers. Jeoffry not being engaged so much in milking as his brother, did not receive the infection. About three years after, these two brothers were inoculated with variolous matter, by Mr. Lister, of Charlbury, an eminent practitioner, at a house appropriated for that purpose. William Tredwell, who had undergone the Cow-pox, could not receive the infection, though he was inoculated several times, and remained in the house with the other patients. Jeoffry, who had not been infected with it, had a very full Small-pox eruption.

SECOND CASE.

Alban Collingridge had the Cow-pox about five or six and twenty years ago, at his father's farm, at Poodle, which affected his fingers in a violent degree. About four years after, he was three times inoculated for the Small-pox, by Mr. Lister, without effect. Two of his brothers, who had never had the Cow-pox, received the variolous infection. He slept with them in order to take it, but no consequence ensued. He has frequently since been exposed to its contagion, and has very lately inoculated his children with the Small-pox, without being in any shape infected with it himself.

THIRD CASE.

Mr. Stevens, a reputable farmer of East Claydon, in the county of Bucks, had the Cow-pox on his farm, in the year 1764.—He himself was infected with it by milking the cows. About four years after, he was inoculated with variolous matter, but without effect. About the year 1791 his family were inoculated with the rest of the parish

for the Small-pox, with which they were all infected, but he was not, though he attended them the whole time. This case must appear decisive with regard to the security the Cow-pox matter affords against the variolous infection, as there was a space of twenty-seven years between his having received the disorder from his cows, and his attending his family in the inoculated Small-pox; and an interval of four years between the time he had the Cow-pox, and his being himself inoculated with the Small-pox without effect.

FOURTH CASE.

Jane Grey, of St. Aldate's, in the University of Oxford, and now wife to one of the servants at Corpus Christi College, received the infection of the Cow-pox by milking at a farm, at Bletchington, in that county, about twenty-five years ago. Eight or nine years after that period, she nursed and slept with one of her children, who had the Small-pox in the natural way; but no ill consequences ensued. She has since had the Small-pox twice in her family, and was each time fully

exposed to the contagious effluvia, but resisted its infection. This person was never inoculated for the Small-pox, and was much astonished to find that she could not receive it by contagion; for at this time she was totally ignorant of the preventive powers of the Cow-pox.

FIFTH CASE.

Thomas Slatter, now butler to Sir Digby Mackworth, Baronet, in Oxford, had the Cow-pox when he was eighteen years of age, in consequence of milking infected cows.—At the age of twenty-four he went to the Inoculating Hospital, at Pancras, to be inoculated for the Small-pox. The variolous matter was inserted twice, at the interval of a fortnight between each time, without effect. About sixteen years after, he attended his own children during inoculation, without receiving any infection. He is now thoroughly convinced that he is secure from all danger of catching it, though he is equally certain that he has never had any complaint of the sort except the Cow-pox.

SIXTH CASE.

Mr. Henry Collingridge, of Godington, a reputable farmer, and a tenant of mine, received the Cow-pox infection by milking, when he was fourteen or fifteen years of age. Ten years after, he was three times inoculated for the Small-pox, without effect. After an interval of ten years more, he inoculated two of his children at his own house; and again, after a lapse of several years, he inoculated another child. But though fully and frequently exposed to the contagion, he was not in any degree affected by it.

SEVENTH CASE.

The following circumstances will serve to prove that the infection of the Small-pox, previously received, prevents the contagion of the Cow-pox: —

Mr. Hill, a considerable farmer, of North Aston, in the county of Oxford, had the Cow-pox in his farm, in the year 1796. — Having a large dairy, many of his cows were infected with it. The disorder was commu-

nicated univerfally to the fervants who were employed in milking. Mr. Hill's three fons constantly milked with the reft during the time, but neither of them were in any fhape affected with it. They had all three been previously inoculated with the Small-pox.

EIGHTH CASE.

Mr. Charles Collingridge, of Somerton, in this neighbourhood, who has fuccefsfully inoculated between two and three hundred with the Cow-pox, lately inoculated five patients who had previously had the Small-pox; two of them in the natural way, and three by inoculation. He, at the fame time, and from the fame arm, inoculated ten others with the Cow-pox, nine of whom received the infection. The arms of the five who had had the Small pox appeared at firft rather inflamed, but the inflammation on the punctured part foon fubfided, and left no marks of infection.

I apprehend, that the moft prejudiced and fceptical reader muft allow from a perufal of the above cafes, that the genuine Cow-pox is

a certain prefervative againſt the Small-pox, though inferted at very diſtant periods.

But as my object, during the courſe of this enquiry, has been principally to produce facts that come within my own knowledge, inſtead of arguments and proofs, however irrefiſtible, that have come from others ; in conſequence of various experiments lately made under my own eyes, I am now juſtly entitled to call your's a truly valuable diſcovery ; I mean the inoculation of the Cow-pox in order to prevent the contagious effects of the Small-pox. But not being a profeſſional man, and conſequently not equal to purſue this inveſtigation with full ſatiſfaction to myſelf ; and having beſides many country avocations, I found it neceſſary to apply to ſome one, who was competent to the undertaking. To yourſelf, in particular, upon this occaſion, I feel myſelf much indebted, for having recommended to me your nephew, the Rev. Mr. Jenner, to whoſe medical knowledge and ſkill in the treatment of this diſorder, I owe principally the ſucceſs of my experiments. For he not only took the trouble of inoculating all our patients with the Cow-pox, but likewise of

attending them during its progress ; and, as I was determined to have the matter from its true source, I mean from yourself, he was so good as to bring it with him from Berkeley to my house.

I am happy likewise, upon this occasion, to be able to say, that my experiments have been made with the most liberal concurrence, and under the inspection of many of the most respectable and learned professors of the University of Oxford, and the most noted practitioners of its environs, whose names will appear in the annexed account ; and who, from motives of humanity, and principles truly patriotic, have been so kind as to give up much of their time and attention to this very interesting subject.

Amongst the rest, I feel myself particularly indebted to Dr. Wall, of distinguished professional abilities, and Clinical Professor in that University ; to Sir Christopher Pegge, the Public Reader in Anatomy there ; to Dr. Williams, the Regius Professor of Botany ; who have not only encouraged me in this undertaking, but have been witnesses of its

salubrious effects. I feel myself likewise under particular obligations to Mr. Grosvenor, a very eminent surgeon there ; who has been so kind as to inoculate some of our patients afterwards with variolous matter, and to give up much of his time to the inspection of them after their inoculation. I am happy in having this opportunity of acknowledging likewise my obligations to Messrs. Davis, surgeons of eminence at Bicester ; to Mr. Braine, surgeon, of the same place ; to Mr. Olley, of known professional skill, at Brackley ; and to Mr. Watson, surgeon, at Aynho ; who have been so good as to inoculate, with variolous matter, the patients Mr. Jenner had previously inoculated here with the Cow-pox.

During the course of these experiments, upon so considerable a number of different subjects of all ages, from eleven days to seventy-five years, no pustule appeared on any of them, but on the inoculated part, except in two instances ; a single pustule on the forehead of one, and one upon the arm of another. No sickness of any consequence ensued, nor any loss of time from ordinary avocations. The disorder was not communicated by con-

tagion to any who refused to submit to its inoculation. The symptoms which generally occurred, were, a pain in the axilla, or in the head, sometimes in both; but no nausea, or one may say, any other constitutional illness. Indeed, some of them were entirely free from all the above complaints. An efflorescence generally appeared about the punctured part, and sometimes extended, though without pain, down the fore-arm, and up to the shoulder. But this happened very seldom. No medicine of any sort was administered, nor had any of them any inflammation on their arms, that could create any uneasiness.

NAMES OF PERSONS

WHO WERE

INOCULATED WITH THE COW-POX.

Those that have an Asterisk before them have since been inoculated with variolous matter, by different professional men in the neighbourhood.

				AGE.	
				Years.	Months.
* Joseph Jervice,	—		29	0	} <i>Fritzwell,</i>
* Thomas Scott,	—		60	0	
* Robert Ditto,	—		20	0	
* William Rowe,	—	—	35	0	
Sarah Winteringham,	—		12	0	
* Joseph Ditto,	—	—	11	0	
* William Ditto,	—		5	0	
* Anne Ditto,	—	—	4	0	
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—		3	0	
* Mary Ditto,	—	—	15	0	
* Sophia French,	—		7	0	
Mary Richards,	—		21	0	
* John Heath,	—		26	0	
* Joseph Ditto,	—	—	5	6	
* John Ditto,	—	—	3	0	
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—		0	9	
* John Palmer,	—	—	13	0	
* Henry Scott,	—		26	0	
* John Kilby,	—		7	0	
* James Franklin,	—		14	0	

			AGE.	
			Years.	Months.
* Thomas Butler,	—		12	0
* Lionel Butler,	—		8	0
Thomas Bonner,	—		10	0
* Hannah Hern,	—		11	0
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—		9	0
Mary Ditto,	—	—	7	0
Sarah Ditto,	—		4	0
Anne Ditto,	—	—	14	0
* Martha Butler,	—		6	6
* Sufannah Ditto,	—		14	0
* Hannah Ditto,	—		10	0
* Anne Kilby,	—		12	0
* Elizabeth Tebby,	—		17	0
* Ritte Ditto,	—		11	0
* Mary Sworder,	—		50	0
* Mary Scott,	—	—	24	0
* Sarah Ditto,	—		17	0
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—		15	0
Thomas Ditto,	—		20	0
* John Bourton,	—		18	0
Margaret Bayles,	—		17	0
* Catharine Rowe,	—		31	0
* John Johnson,	—		50	0
* James Ditto,	—	—	30	0
* John Ditto,	—		21	0
* John Ditto,	—	—	0	9
* Jane Ditto,	—	—	21	0
* Catharine Franklin,	—		5	0
Mary Wilfon,	—		8	0
Hannah Jervice,	—		12	0
* Mary Newport,	—		12	0

Fritwell.

AGE.

			Years.	Months.	
* Jane Newport,	—	—	7	0	} <i>Fritzwell.</i>
Anne Ditto,	—	—	4	0	
* Charles Frederick Ditto	—		1	0	
* Anne Jervice,	—	—	0	4	
* Anne Webb,	—		15	0	
* Anne Winteringham,	—		47	0	
Anne French,	—		66	0	
* Mary Kirby,	—	—	18	0	
* Catharine Ditto,	—		13	0	
* Hannah Ditto,	—		7	0	
* Alexander Ditto,	—		5	0	
* Jeremiah Ditto,	—		13	0	
* Thomas Kirby,	—		15	0	
* John Ditto,	—		10	0	
* Edward Ditto,	—		8	0	
* Anne Golder,	—		63	0	
* William Banes,	—		75	0	
* Edward Bourton,	—		15	0	
* John Butler,	—		24	0	
* Henry Bourton,	—		12	0	
* Joseph Johnson	—		36	0	
John Busby,	—		27	0	
* John Bourton,	—		20	0	
* Mary Johnson,	—		2	0	
* Mary Hartshorn,	—		55	0	
* Anne Johnson,	—		4	0	
* Garner Wife,	—		15	0	
* Hannah Abraham,	—		26	0	
Edward Hern,	—		13	0	
* Elizabeth Hopcroft,			16	0	
* James Kirby,	—		21	0	

AGE.

		Years.	Months.	
* William Bayles,	—	10	0	} <i>Fritwell.</i>
Elizabeth Hearn,	—	10	0	
* Elizabeth Terril,	—	15	0	
* Sarah Wife,	— —	10	0	
Martha Ditto,	—	8	0	
Catharine Ditto,	—	7	0	
Francis Alarbarton,	—	46	0	

William Harrop,	—	29	0	} <i>Croxton.</i>
Richard Gray,	—	20	0	
Mary Spires,	— / —	63	0	
Pamela Hawkins	—	13	0	
Thomas Cox,	—	15	0	
Robert Ditto,	—	11	0	
Thomas Howse,	—	23	0	
John Flowers,	—	35	0	
William Spatcher,	—	15	0	
James Bignell,	—	13	0	
Ann Blencowe	—	8	0	
Elizabeth Pollard	—	26	0	
William Ditto,	—	2	0	

* William Howse,	—	63	0	} <i>Hethe.</i>
* John Ditto,	—	9	6	
* Mary Ditto,	—	50	0	
* William Platford,	—	23	0	
* John Ditto,	—	14	0	
* Charles Taylor,	—	12	0	
* Anne Wearing,	—	54	0	
* Anne Gibbs,	—	13	0	
* William Rouse,	—	19	0	
* James Heydon,	—	14	0	

			AGE.		
			Years.	Months.	
James Pollard,	—		54	0	} <i>Hebe.</i>
Samuel Ditto,	—		14	0	
Mary Westley,	—		20	0	
* John Boswell,	—		6	0	
* Jane Boswell,	—		22	0	
* Thomas Wagstaff,	—		6	0	
Catharine Ditto,	—		13	0	
* Francis Wearing,	—		64	0	
* Hannah Heyden,	—		10	0	
Richard Cleyden,	—		5	0	
Sarah Ditto,	—		7	0	
* Joannah Pollard,	—		1	6	
* Sarah Heyden,	—	—	11	0	
Anne Harwood,	—		2	0	
Alice Ditto,	—	—	29	0	
William Pollard,	—		29	0	
George Boswell,	—		11	0	
* Hester Pollard,	—		4	0	
* Hester Ditto,	—		57	0	
* James Ditto,	—		2	0	
* Anne Boswell,	—		46	0	
* Jane Heyden,	—		4	0	
* Mary Wagstaff,	—		45	0	
* Sophia Heyden,	—		1	6	
* Elizabeth Pollard,	—		26	0	
* Joseph Ditto,	—		0	0	
John James,	—		8	0	
* Hannah Pollard,	—		31	0	
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—		0	0	
Elizabeth Austin,	—		33	0	
John Ditto,	—	—	3	0	
* Joseph Boswell,	—		55	0	

2 weeks.

11 days.

AGE.

		Years.	Months.	
Richard Judd,	—	0	9	} <i>Helbe.</i>
Thomas Ditto,	—	3	6	
John Ditto,	—	25	0	
William Ditto,	—	17	0	
* Henry Ruffell,	—	8	0	
* Francis Dagley,	—	10	0	
* James Ditto,	—	6	0	
Anne Heyward,	—	3	0	
Martha Ditto,	—	5	0	
Mary James,	—	10	0	
Elizabeth Ditto,	—	7	0	
Thomas Ditto,	—	2	6	
Martha Mofs,	—	24	0	
Anne Ditto,	—	2	6	
William Ditto,	—	0	9	
Anne Judd,	—	25	0	
Catharine Tame,	—	14	0	
Hannah Dagley,	—	4	0	
Jane Ditto,	—	2	0	
Alexander Gillet,	—	4	6	} <i>Tusmore.</i>
* William Hayden,	—	15	0	
* Mr. Mellier,	—	50	0	
* Elizabeth Kirby,	—	20	0	} <i>Fringford.</i>
* Mary Potter,	—	20	0	
Sarah Mansfield,	—	32	0	
Sarah Ditto,	—	5	6	
Elizabeth Rhodes,	—	16	0	
Mary Ditto,	—	12	0	}
Martha Ditto,	—	8	0	

				AGE.	
				Years.	Montbs.
Sarah Jones,	—			47	0
Jane Ditto,	—	—		9	0
Annie Ditto,	—	—		5	0
Benjamin Haynes,	—			20	0
John Harris,	—			15	0
George Ditto,	—			10	0
Thomas Watts,	—			15	0
Anne Harris,	—			13	0
Elizabeth Griffin,	—			14	0
Martha Rhodes,	—			36	0
William Ditto,	—			1	6
Elizabeth Busby,	—			19	0
Jemima Ditto,	—			10	0

} *Fringford.*

* Hannah Hatwell,	—			13	0
* Anne Westley,	—			43	0
William Rogers,	—			68	0
John Wilsby,	—			60	0
Eleanor Rogers,	—			66	0
Mary Wilsby,	—			12	0
Anne Ditto,	—			10	0
Elizabeth Ditto,	—			8	0
Sarah Ditto,	—			45	0
Sarah Ditto,	—			2	0
Phœbe Sumner,	—			11	0
Elizabeth Phillips,	—			7	0
James Ditto,	—			5	0
John Ditto,	—			40	0
William Ditto,	—			14	0

} *Stoke.*

		AGE.	
		Years.	Months.
* William Wife,	—	14	0
* Mary Ditto,	—	12	0
* Charles Ditto,	—	6	0
* Helen Ditto,	—	2	0
* Edmund Collingridge,	—	55	0
* Thomas Ditto,	—	17	0
* Catharine Hatwell,	—	24	0
* Mary Ditto,	—	1	0
* Martha Waring,	—	47	0
* Catharine Ditto,	—	14	0
* Elizabeth Ditto,	—	12	0
* Lucy Ditto,	—	9	0
* Henry Ditto,	—	3	6
Jane Bedford,	—	56	0
Thomas Bedford,	—	56	0
* John Ditto,	—	12	0
* Elizabeth Guliman,	—	18	0
* John Wright,	—	30	0
Joseph Watts,	—	20	0
* Richard Collingridge,	—	47	0
* Edmund Ditto,	—	14	0
* John Wife,	—	16	0
* Anne Jacobs,	—	31	0
* Robert Ditto,	—	2	6
Sarah Watts,	—	67	0
* Anne Wright,	—	2	6
* Robert Grant,	—	58	0
* Charles Collingridge,	—	14	0
* Mary Hartin,	—	12	0
James Collingridge,	—	22	0
* James Grant,	—	26	0
* Anne Collingridge,	—	54	0

Hardwick.

AGE.

		Months.	Years.	
Elenor Tew,	—	1	6	} Godington.
Teresia Ditto,	—	8	0	
William Ditto,	—	5	0	
Mary Ditto,	—	10	6	
James Ditto,	—	9	0	
Sophia Ditto,	—	11	0	
Hannah Ditto,	—	7	0	
Anne Ditto,	—	4	0	
Elizabeth Ditto,	—	1	3	
Hannah Sears,	—	12	0	
Thomas Turner,	—	25	0	
Mary Ditto,	—	1	3	
Thomas Ditto,	—	0	6	
Mary Ward,	—	20	0	
Sarah Ditto,	—	18	0	
Thomas Hitchcox,	—	9	0	
Edward Kirby,	—	52	0	

George Williams,	—	18	0	} Middleton Stoney
William Ditto,	—	14	0	
Sufannah Ditto,	—	14	0	
John Ditto,	—	11	0	
Charles Ditto,	—	9	0	

Richard Thornton,	—	10	0	} Charlton.
* Rachael Hounslow,	—	25	0	
* Sufannah Wyatt,	—	20	0	

		AGE.	
		Years.	Months.
* John Sabin,	—	18	0
* John Smith,	—	9	0
* Elizabeth Price,	—	31	0
* Catharine Ditto,	—	17	0
* Mary Ditto,	—	23	0
Elizabeth Tredwell,	—	28	0
Mary Anne Ditto,	—	9	0
John Clark Ditto,	—	5	0
William Ditto,	—	4	0
Sarah Ditto,	—	0	6
Mary Johnson,	—	16	0
* Mary Harpwood,	—	4	6
* Charlotte Ditto,	—	3	0
* Hellen Ditto,	—	1	3
* Francis Smith,	—	13	0
* Mary Judd,	—	18	0
Elizabeth Smith,	—	15	0
* John Price,	—	11	0
* Elizabeth Collet,	—	10	0
Martha Barton,	—	13	0
* William Price,	—	15	0
John Barton,	—	44	0
Thomas Mofs,	—	25	0
John Ditto,	—	24	0
* Henry Price,	—	13	0
* Edward Harpwood,	—	33	0
Isaac Judd,	—	23	0
* John Price,	—	30	0
Elizabeth Judd,	—	53	0
* Mary Sabin,	—	16	0

*Cottisford and
Juniper Hill.*

		AGE.		
		Years.	Months.	
* Jane Ring,	—	15	0	} <i>Cotisford and Juniper Hill.</i>
* John Ditto,	—	9	0	
* George Sabin,	—	13	0	
* William Ditto,	—	56	0	
* Elizabeth Farren,	—	30	0	
* William Ditto,	—	11	0	
* Francis Ditto,	—	9	0	
* John Ditto,	—	0	6	
* Bartholomew Price,	—	69	0	
Anne Mofs,	—	20	0	
William Fox,	—	1	2	
Hannah Ditto,	—	29	0	
John Fox,	—	6	0	
Elizabeth Ditto,	—	3	0	
Anne Mofs,	—	59	0	
* Harriot White,	—	1	3	
* Sufannah Ring,	—	45	0	
* Mary Laurence,	—	30	0	

George Neale,	—	55	0	} <i>Mixbury.</i>
John Ditto,	—	60	0	
Elizabeth Golby,	—	34	0	
William Haydon,	—	14	0	
Thomas Russell,	—	29	0	

Joseph Parish,	—	9	0	} <i>Knights House.</i>
Elizabeth Ditto,	—	16	0	
Thomas Ditto,	—	12	0	
Samuel Ditto,	—	8	0	

		AGE.		
		Years.	Months.	
* Anne Coleman,	—	16	0	} <i>Pimlico.</i>
* Anne Hunt,	—	7	0	
* Mary Ditto,	—	4	6	
* Sarah Ditto,	—	2	6	
* Sarah Kaye,	—	23	0	
* Richard Smith,	—	24	0	} <i>Souldern.</i>
Arefpia Baker,	—	21	0	
John Watts,	—	23	0	} <i>Aynbo.</i>
William Eeeley,	—	19	0	
Henry Burton,	—	23	0	
James Seckle,	—	19	0	

With Cow-pox in all 326

With Small-pox afterwards 173

I must now strongly recommend to practitioners, to be well assured by ocular evidence, that their inoculated patients have received the Cow-pox infection. As the fluid is of a much milder nature than the variolous, it will often be necessary to insert it more than once. I have frequently seen it applied three or four times, and in some habits even then without effect. I once saw it inserted six times, but no infection was produced. If particular attention be not paid to this circumstance, patients may lull themselves into an ill-grounded security of being for ever proof against the Small-pox contagion, whereas in reality they have never had the Cow-pox. I have in consequence, struck off many names from our original list of such as were inoculated here, because we never had an opportunity of seeing them again. Some lived too far off, and others were perhaps too indolent to return. I have, however, good reason to believe, that every individual in the printed list of names, received the Cow-pox; and, as a proof, many were afterwards indiscriminately inoculated with variolous matter, though they never in any shape felt its influence.

A farmer in my neighbourhood, who pretended to be an inoculator for the Cow-pox, inoculated two of Mr. Jenner's patients, who had never received the Cow-pox from him, and who were returning to be inoculated a second time. He likewise failed in his attempt to give them the Cow-pox. In consequence, they afterwards received the variolous infection, which was communicated to them inadvertently, on their assertions of having had the disorder. Fortunately for the inhabitants of the village, a considerable part of them had been inoculated by Mr. Jenner, with the vaccine complaint. They consequently resisted the variolous contagion. Five children belonging to one of these men, had previously received the Cow-pox infection, and had likewise been inoculated with variolous matter, without effect. They lived under the same roof with the father during the whole time of his being under the influence of the Small-pox, and one slept in the same bed with him. They were at the same time again inoculated from him with variolous matter, but still remained proof against all contagion.

On account of the difficulty of communicating the vaccine infection, which frequently requires to be inserted, as I said above, more than once, it is much to be wished that the practice were to be confined to professional men only. Such as have other avocations and employments, which require their particular attention, cannot possibly give up so much of their time, as seems to be required, to this very important business. Some, to my knowledge, in different parts of the kingdom, have received the variolous infection, after having been ineffectually inoculated with the Cowpox, and not seen a second time by those who inoculated them. Whereas the medical practitioner, who has no other employment, would in the course of his rounds, call upon such, to inspect their arms, and examine the progress of the disorder, and again repeat the inoculation, if necessary.

I am likewise well aware, that there are many respectable medical names affixed to cases, wherein it seemed to appear, that individuals had received the variolous contagion, after having had the vaccine disorder. That they had undergone the spurious sort, I grant;

as it is well known to be no safe-guard against the former complaint.

Being well convinced that every liberal mind will be ready to acknowledge an error they may have fallen into, from not having been aware at the time of publishing their opinions, that there were a genuine and a spurious sort, I cannot recommend to them a better example for their imitation, than that of our great and candid Sydenham ; who having by experience found, that he had discovered a better method of treating the gout, with which he himself was much afflicted, than the one he had formerly practised, retracts his first opinion, in the following remarkable words from Virgil : —

———— Nec si miserum fortuna finorem

Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba fuget.

It is unnecessary for me to say any more on this truly interesting subject. I leave the impartial reader to his natural reflections ; but I think, in consequence of the above premises, I may venture to say, that he will now be of opinion that the genuine Cow-pox is mild in its effects, congenial with every situation and em-

ployment of life, totally void of contagion, and a certain preservative against the baneful influence of the Small-pox. That no constitutional or family complaint can interfere with its effects, or prevent its adoption.

To conclude ; though the public have certainly great obligations to many distinguished modern practitioners, for having, by the cool regimen and present mode of treatment, considerably abated the natural virulence of the Small-pox, to you alone we are certainly indebted for its complete annihilation.

I remain, dear Sir,

With true regard,

Your very obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM FERMOR.

TUSMORE,

May the 27th, 1800.



Accession no.

8919

Author

Fermor, W.

Reflections on the

cow-pox. 1800.

Call no.

Inoculation

Vaccination

